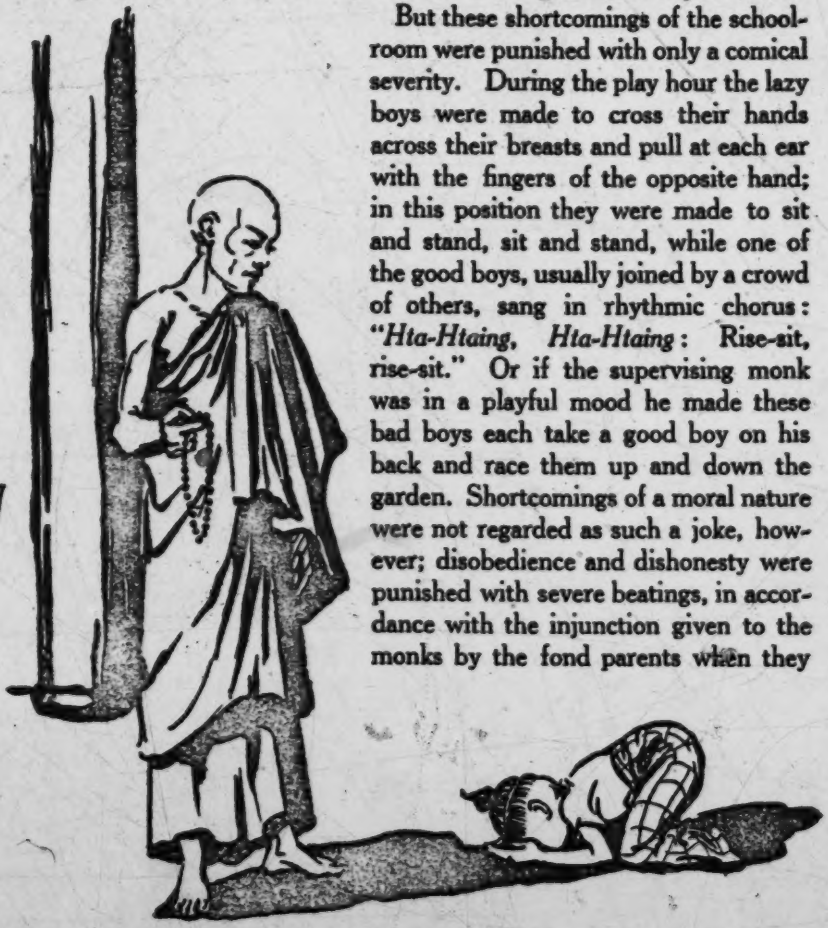
"Your holiness" and themselves as "Your holiness' pupil". The monks addressed the people as *daga*, giver, for they lived by the gifts of the people who donated robes, household articles and other necessities to the monasteries, as good works which brought them merit.

When my grandparents took my father to the kyaung he was a frightened little boy dressed in a cotton skirt called a *longyi*, and a shirt without cuffs and collar; his hair was grown long in the centre and tied in a knot, the sides being cut in a fringe about two inches long all round, and the rest shaved clean, a way of growing hair common to both little boys and girls and enhancing their youthful appearance. He and all the other scholars performed the domestic tasks of the monastery, swept and rubbed the good hard wooden floors, the monastery grounds and pagoda steps, because in these precincts all comers went barefoot; they drew water for drinking, and for the bath of the older monks; they followed the monks on their rounds, two of them bearing a pole on which was slung a covered tray, to take any food donated in excess of what would go into the monk's bowl; they waited on the monks at meals; they learned to read and write, and do simple sums, to recite precepts and religious passages which they shouted at the tops of their childish voices in imitation of the deep intoning voice of the teacher monk, phrase by phrase; in the evenings they went home to eat the meal which the monks abstained from, but came back at sunset to recite the lessons of the day and many past days all over again, to join in the assembled night prayers, to sleep in the monastery and rise again before dawn.

When my father spoke to us of his years in the monastery he always chuckled with delight, in spite of this long list of disciplined tasks. He had the advantage from the first; he was stronger and taller than other boys, and in a system where all learning was by heart he had brilliant memorising powers. The school-room of the kyaung had not the formal atmosphere of the Western school-room with each child at a desk and chair, and a silence except for the voice of teacher or child. The monastery boys all went into the same big room of the monastery, irrespective of age or stage, each with his slate or book, got down on the floor

872 next to their friends, crouched over their work and started to shout out
● 854 whatever passage was being committed to memory. My father's chuckling
876 was at being able to remember how his voice was lustier than his rival's as he rested on his elbows and knees, and rocked backwards and forwards in rhythm to his chanting, with his legs going as high as he dared, giving surreptitious kicks and nudges to upset the balance of his similarly rocking rival, shouting out the passages all wrong when the supervising monk was at the other end of the room and could not distinguish his voice in the general din, so as to cause his rival to laugh and be reprimanded.



But these shortcomings of the schoolroom were punished with only a comical severity. During the play hour the lazy boys were made to cross their hands across their breasts and pull at each ear with the fingers of the opposite hand; in this position they were made to sit and stand, sit and stand, while one of the good boys, usually joined by a crowd of others, sang in rhythmic chorus: "*Hta-Htaing, Hta-Htaing*: Rise-sit, rise-sit." Or if the supervising monk was in a playful mood he made these bad boys each take a good boy on his back and race them up and down the garden. Shortcomings of a moral nature were not regarded as such a joke, however; disobedience and dishonesty were punished with severe beatings, in accordance with the injunction given to the monks by the fond parents when they handed their children over: "*So yin na na yaik pa*: If he is naughty please beat him hard."

[861]

892 My father spent about five years like this. The hair of his top-knot
561 grew longer year by year and it was nearing the time when he should cut
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

making mud pies according to cosmopolitan infantile habit, and not seldom getting up decorous and serious representations of the choral dances and dramatic performances they have seen. The spectacle of a little girl vigorously puffing a big green cheroot while she moulds a heap of mud into shapely form is only a little more startling to the white-faced foreigner than the declamatory passion of a five-year-old princeling. So it goes on till the eighth year is reached; then it is time to go to the monastic school.

On the following page is a copy of the sadā of Shin Thuza. The young lady, I regret to say, is dead. The publication of her horoscope cannot therefore enable malicious persons to work her any harm by means of spells. The side represented is the obverse. I have submitted the figures to two very distinguished wranglers, but they have been unable to detect any system in them.

On the reverse, surrounded by an ornamental border of numbers written in accordance with a rhyme, are recorded in mystic language the details. The young lady was born in the year 1220 B.E. (twenty-three years ago), in the astrological cycle 422, in the month of Ta-bodwè, on the ninth of the waxing moon, and the seventh day (Friday) of the week, in the evening, at thôn chetti gyaw, a little past the third hour, or more exactly, three nayi, two pads, and ten bizana. Then the precise position of the constellation in the heavens is noted. It is thirteen bǎwa (feet), five finger breadths, three mayaw (grains' length), one sessamum seed (nan), and eight hairs' breadths from the planet. Then it winds up to the effect that this is the horoscope of the maiden, whom, that she may be known by a pleasant name, her parents have called Shin Thuza. "May she live to be a hundred and twenty!" Alas! she did not.

At either side of these details are two identical magic squares, formed in accordance with the well-known Hindoo Law. Over one is written "The Buddha"; over the other "The Law"; beneath the former "Rangoon," and the latter "650." The two palm-leaves are tightly sewn together, and the writings and figures, done with a metal style on the dry leaf, are very neatly executed.

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From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward to prevent a flat nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it, people play at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

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Naming. It is believed that one's name can influence the course of life events; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal names normally consist of monosyllables which are chosen in a rather complex manner. The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven groups, each group corresponding to a given day of the week. The first syllable in a personal name begins with a letter which belongs to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth. There is a tendency for the villagers to follow these rules only for the first syllable of the name. The terms in the name stand for qualities of character, physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote strength, success or brilliance; while grace, beauty, tenderness and various precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as million, sometimes appear in the names of both sexes.

The name of the child is conferred rather informally by means of a feast to which the family invites relatives and friends in the village. Sometimes written invitations are sent on which the name of the child is announced. The feast takes place at home, where the invited guests bring gifts and may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of the change of one's name.

Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are used in the village, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

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Childhood. The children in Tadagale are generally indulged and their existence is more or less carefree, unencumbered by rigid discipline -- apart from inculcation of respect for elders -- until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood as a novice. This brings great religious merit to his parents.

Children are valued for the economic help they render. This varies, of course, with family circumstances. But in the ordinary family of Tadagale, sons and daughters help from the age of nine or ten in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 her; and as her surroundings change, so will she. What she was a thousand years ago I do not care, what she may be a thousand years hence I do not know; it is of what she is to-day that I have tried to know and write.

858 562 871 Children in Burma have, I think, a very good time when they are young. Parentage in Burma has never degenerated into a sort of slavery. It has never been supposed that gaiety and goodness are opposed. And so they grow up little merry naked things, sprawling in the dust of the gardens, sleeping in the sun with their arms round the village [854] dogs, very sedate, very humorous, very rarely crying. Boys and girls when they are babies grow up together, but with the schooldays comes a division. All the boys go to school at the monastery without the walls, and there learn in noisy fashion their arithmetic, letters, and other useful knowledge. But little girls have nowhere to go. They cannot go to the monasteries, these are for boys alone, and the nunneries are very scarce. For twenty monasteries there is not one nunnery. Women do not seem to care to learn to become nuns as men do to become monks. Why this is so I cannot tell, but there is no doubt of the fact. And so there are no schools for girls as there are for boys, and consequently the girls [369] are not well educated as a rule. In great towns there are, of course, regular schools for girls, generally for girls and boys together; but in the villages 562 these very seldom exist. The girls may learn from 212 their mothers how to read and write, but most of 871 them cannot do so. It is an exception in country places to find a girl who can read, as it is to find

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PY UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU KHIN BYAR NOO ME NOO MEY (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858●

In Pathwe they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MON-LEI-HSAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathwe. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathwe if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454 426 [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathwe but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

553 which the family invites the people of the village. In the larger communities a written invitation may be sent, in which the name of the child is announced. The [431] feast occurs in the family house, to which the invited guests bring presents and where they may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, which is always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of change of one's name.

[551] Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are utilized by the Burmese, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

Childhood. Burmese children are generally indulged and their existence is 857 more or less carefree and unencumbered by rigid discipline, apart from early ● 858 inculcation of respect for elders, until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood, [851] remaining from a few days to several years, depending upon family circumstances and needs. The initiation of a son brings great religious merit to his parents.

In the Burmese village children are valued for the economic help they render. This will, of course, vary with family circumstances. But in the ordinary cultivator's family, sons and daughters help from the age of about nine or ten years in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

[884] *Puberty and Adolescence.* Apart from modern legal ideas concerning the attainment of adulthood, the Burmese view is that one is adult when physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a 881 term meaning "virgin." The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which corresponding precautions are necessary.

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the "blood is trying to flow." [841] Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

304 Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-boring cere-
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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagdt* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

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854 Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a [165] chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

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302 Children's heads are shaved in more or less fanciful ways up to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

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524 The road-fronts of the houses are always peopled with children. Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take [854] interest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (SAUNGBAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

18. YOUNG CHILDREN'S TOYS.

Manufactured toys are the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *dô* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gôn-hnyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sangermano's time (1783–1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *sitôppyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burman boys are more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

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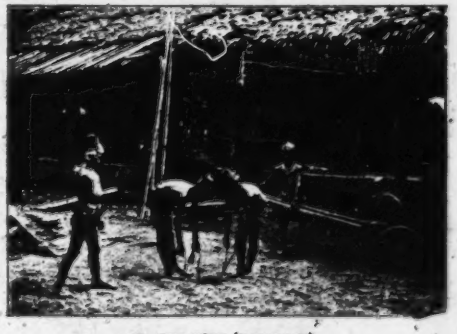
From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where they are taught free by the recluse (*póndyt*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upazin*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a



21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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29. NOVICES MAKING THE ROUND FOR DAILY FOOD (P. 18).

CHAPTER III

ADOLESCENCE

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30. THAMI-Ó ARRAYED FOR HER FETE.

BETWEEN the ages of ten and sixteen Burman lads enter upon the monastic novitiate, an occasion celebrated with a brilliant fête. The adoption of a religious life by girls is much less general, even for the short time it is embraced by the youths; and when it is adopted, there is no ceremony. But a holiday answering to that of the boy's novitiate is held in honour of the girl, especially when she is the first-born child—*thamí-u*. In her case the ear-boring ceremony, if not the piercing itself, is deferred to the age of ten or twelve. The child, equipped in royal attire, or an imitation of it, and wearing a queen's crown (*sìbòn*), is the centre of a great gathering of relatives and friends, who are entertained with music and plays.

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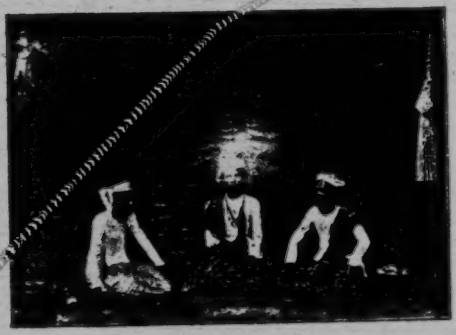
The lad who has prepared to renounce the world for a season, or it may be for life, is called *shinláung*. The *shinláung* festivals usher in the religious or lenten season—*wă*, June to September—the season of rain in Bahár,

p. 14

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS FETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parĕikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parĕikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*egasi*), wrapper (*thingán-dyi*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabĕit*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezĭt*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindôn-dâ*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabĕit* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings

32. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (BURMA PROPER).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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with good furniture. In all other respects they rigidly observe the rule of their life.

At the *kyaung*, or by another usage at the home of the candidate, whither the recluse has been invited to preach, the lad will pray for reception as

33. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (PEGU).

probationer of the *thingâ*—the assembly of devoted seekers after righteousness—presenting his *parĕikaya* at the same time. In response, the recluse will recite the ordinances of reception. First, he will inquire about the bodily integrity of the candidate, the consent of his parents, his freedom from debt and other bonds. Then he will recapitulate the rule of the novice's life, who, besides the five commandments binding on all men, must observe five additional injunctions (*thîla*). The cardinal precepts of the Buddha are (1) to respect every form of life; (2) to respect the property of others; and (3) their wives and children;

34. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (PEGU).

(4) to respect truth; and (5) sobriety. The additional rules are—to eschew sexuality, frequent meals, games, gold and silver, finery and worldliness. The recluse should meekly fix his gaze on the earth not more than "a four-span yoke" in front. He takes food in the forenoon only. The novice gives his hours to

25: Fetrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4.

35. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (PEGU).

attendance upon his preceptor, to contemplation and sober study. His preceptor receives voluntary confession of faults, without questioning, prescribes penances, and is to his disciple as a parent. Having acquiesced in the rule of life, the candidate is admonished to divest himself of worldly state and personal adornment, and after that to renew his prayer for admission.

The *shinlâung* then retires to be divested of his grandeur. His long hair—the pride of the Burman—is cut close to the roots with scissors and preserved by his female relatives. His head is shaved by a male relative. The same day, or later, after bathing, the candidate will present himself clad in a plain loin-cloth, offering his robes and the rest of the *parĕikaya* for acceptance as before. The recluse will now accept the robes on behalf of the Assembly, and deliver them to the candidate, who retires to robe himself. Invested with the *thingân*, he returns as accepted probationer, to make obeisance (*shikŏ*) to his instructor. The novice takes no vow and owes no formal obedience. Like the full member of the Assembly, he is always free to abandon the religious rule of life (*hu-twèt*—to become a layman again). The *gwĕlè* (*maung-yin*, Pâli *samanera*, "*chinthaman*") or "gentle-brother," as the novice is designated, discontinues the use of his secular name, in lieu of which he receives from his preceptor a Pâli title (*bwè*), chosen in the same way as the secular name from one of seven sets. Thus Maung Shwe Nî, Brother Golden-red, becomes Û Âlawka, Sage Above-the-world.

36. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (BURMA).

The whole male population of the village are free of the monastery. The recluse and his novices have withdrawn from participation in